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ABSTRACT

Utilizing an anthropological approach, this paper provides an intense and unified description of the dominant geographic, economic, political, historic, and social trends prevalent in Cape Verde. It serves as a quasi-explicit and exceptionally objective emphasis of the island's background, and the outgrowths evident in the status quo. The monograph analyzes the environment's impact on the present and future prosperity of the islands just off the coast of West Africa. Agricultural and economic practices function as causes of the female head of household phenomenon. Statistics and other diverse forms of data provide an extensive examination of the Cape Verdean population and emigration customs. The paper is divided into four sections: (1) the framework of the islands including geography, climate, socio-political history, population, language, and religion; (2) the economic structure of the islands discussing government, economy, female heads of household, emigration, and remittances; (3) the agricultural development of the islands including agricultural perspective, land reform, and a food crops research project; and (4) the educational and health system of the islands. The adult literacy rate is about 40 percent. The literacy program in Cape Verde is an ideological practice of cultural production and reproduction. Many educators argue that the vernacular, rather than the present Portuguese, must be utilized in these programs, if true emancipation from ignorance is the objective. The literacy program has led to the duplication of the colonialist, elitist mentality. Contains 53 references. (DK)

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AN ANALYSIS OF THE CAPE VERDEAN STATUS QUO: OUTGROWTHS OF A CRITICAL ENVIRONMENT

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Utilizing an anthropological approach, this work provides a intense and unified description of the dominant geographic, economic, political, historic, and social trends, prevalent in Cape Verde. It serves as a quasi-explicit and exceptionally objective emphasis of the island's background, and the outgrowths evident in the status quo. The monograph analyzes the environment's impact on the present and future prosperity of the islands just off the coast of West Africa. Agricultural and economic practices function as causes of the female head of household phenomenon. Statistics and diverse forms of data will provide an extensive examination of the Cape Verdean population and emigration customs.

To Mother and Grandmother

Ilhas perdidas
no meio do mar
esquecidas
num canto do Mundo
--que as ondas embalam
maltratam
abracam...

Ninguem sabe
ninguem da porisso
a radio nao fala
os journais nao dizem
ninguem telegrafa

Jorge Barbosa, poet of Cape Verde

Islands lost
in the midst of the sea
forgotten
in an angle of the world
--where the waves cradle
abuse
embrace...
No one knows
no one pays notice
the radio doesn't talk of it
the newspapers don't report it
no one telegrams

translation by Christopher Brown

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Preface

Cape Verde, an archipelago in the Atlantic Ocean off the coast of Africa, is a detached region of our planet. This microcosm subsists in a figurative and literal nightmare. Cape Verde's history, culture, structures, and pace of development is being molded greatly by its location and constraints on social, economic, and political development.

In July of 1975, Aristides Pereira, stood in the midst of Praia, the Cape Verdean capital, and said to a multitude of new citizens that independence was theirs--"the outcome of a long struggle, of a long resistance."

O what tranquility, gentle peace, mutual armistice, and loving unity. But what came next?

This research promises to be a comprehensive study of Cape Verde's status quo, as well as supply a detailed analysis of it's geographic and climatic history. The monograph will be a very important contribution to the overall study of the islands. It will encompass the framework, economic structure, agricultural development, and educational and health systems of the islands.

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My supreme gratitude to, Dr. Adela Allen, Associate Dean of the Graduate College, and Regina Serrano, the Project ACCESS Program Coordinator, who are responsible for the monetary support which enabled me to conduct this research. They appointed me a mentoring adjutant, Ramon Gomez, who facilitated in my finalization of various concepts.

Last but not least is my debt to my family, primarily aunts and uncles; moreover, my church. This research eliminated our family vacation and General Assembly, respectively. I thank and give all the honor to the most gracious and high God, who helped ME!!!

Basic Data

Official Name:	Republic Of Cape Verde
Head of State:	President Aristides Maria Pereira
Prime Minister:	Pedro Verona Rodrigues Pires
Capital:	Praia (1970 pop., 21,494)
Largest City:	Mindelo (1970 pop., 28,797)
Area:	4,033 km sq. (1,577 mi sq.)
Elevation:	Highest-Cano Peak, 2829 m (9,281 ft);lowest-sea level
Population:	318,000 (July 1979). Density, 79 persons km sq. (204 per mi sq.); annual rate of increase (1974-75),1%
Principal Languages:	Portuguese,Crioulo
Principal Religion:	Roman Catholicism
Principal Products:	Agriculture-bananas,maize,coffee, sugar. Manufacturing and industry-fishing,food processing. Mining-salts
Railroads:	300 km/185 (1976)
Roads:	320 km/200 mi (1976 paved)
Currency:	1 escudo = 100 centavos
Education	
School system:	Six years basic eduction in three cycles; six years secondary education in two cycles and two branches
Primary enrolment:	60.960 (1987.88); 60,298 (1986/87)
Secondary enrolment:	6.352 (1987/88); 5,832 (1986/87)
Literacy:	57.54% (1987)
Economy	
GDP	CV$11,519 MILLION
GDP	CV$34,500 (1985)
GDP by percentage	Agriculture (16.5); fisheries (5.0); extractive industries (0.2); manufacturing industry (4.0); Construction (24.0); transport and communications (35.3); services (15.0)
GNP	CV$12,378 million
GNP per capita	CV$37,000 (1985)

(Foy: 1988)(World Almanac: 1989)

The Framework of the Islands

GEOGRAPHY, CLIMATE, AND AREA

The Cape Verde islands are located in the central Atlantic Ocean region about 400 miles west of Senegal, on the west coast of Africa. The archipelago comprises ten islands and five islets. These islands are divided into Sotavento or leeward and Barlavento or windward groups. The windward islands are Santa Antao, Sao Vincente, Santa Luzia, Sao Nicolau, Sal, and Boa Vista. The four islands in the leeward cluster are Maio, Santiago, Fogo, and Brava. Nine of the islands are inhabited; all but Santa Luzia. The capital city of Praia is on the island of Santiago.

Though five of the islands have agricultural potential, the islands are predominantly volcanic and constitute a portion of the Sahelian environmental climate that extends throughout the sub-Saharan regions of Africa. The Sahel is a semiarid geographical area in Western Africa. This region separates the Sahara desert in both the north and southern tropical West Africa. This region extends from the Atlantic Ocean easterly along the Niger River.

Consequently, Cape Verde suffers from extensive droughts due to its geographic location. These frequent and prolonged droughts often result in mortality.It creates a limited agricultural capacity as a result of it's eight month dry season. The droughts that it brings generate a loss of crops and livestock, and through malnutrition and disease, the deaths of many people.

Even with the islands' history of volcanic origin, the only active crater is on Fogo; with it's most current vent in 1951.

Notwithstanding, seismic activity was demonstrated in March of 1981, by the crater on the nearby island of Brava. While Boa Vista, Maio, and Sal are level and devoid of natural water supply, mountains that exceed 1,280 meters (4,200 feet) are found on Santiago, Fogo, Sao Nicolau, and Santa Antao (U.S. Department of State: 1986).

The temperature and humidity deviate with the altitude; however, the climate is warm, windy, and dry. The average temperature in Praia is 75 degrees Fahrenheit (24.4 degrees Celsius). September, which is the hottest month of the year has an average temperature of 79 degrees Fahrenheit (26 degrees Celsius); while February, the coolest month averages 72 degrees Fahrenheit (22.2 degrees Celsius). Research suggests that the temperature is stabilized by the ocean (World Almanac: 1989).

The Cape Verde islands have two major seasons--a dry season (November-July) and a rainy season (August-October). The lack of sufficient rainfall has created a desiccation for the previous 15 years. In the capital, the average rainfall is 9.5 inches. The dry and/or arid season is marked by emanating winds. Dust and sand, which are generated in the Sahara desert, cuts down visibility, destroys machinery, irritates eyes, and disrupts respiratory passages. The dry climate disheartens mosquitoes and most insect pests, nevertheless some thrive despite the drought and wind (World Almanac: 1989).

SOCIO-POLITICAL HISTORY

The Cape Verdean culture reflects the lengthy history of the Portuguese empire. The archipelago was discovered by Portuguese navigators in the middle of the fifteenth century. African slaves were brought to the islands to work on plantations. It was during this interval that Cape Verdeans became mulattos of African and Portuguese descent.

On July 5, 1975, the Republic of Cape Verde declared her independence after five-hundred and fifty years of colonialism (Meintel: 1984). Emancipation came after twenty years of military conflict. The new system of government fell into Marxist lines, with only one political party. This was the African Independence Party of Cape Verde (PAICV), which was the center focus of plenary sessions and political referendum (Marx, Engels: 1939) (Davidson: 1989).

POPULATION, LANGUAGE, AND RELIGION

The 1980 census reported Cape Verde as having a population of 296,000; which had increased to more than 310,000 by 1985. In Praia, there are approximately 50,000 residents and the population density is 74.2 per square mile. The mercantile center Mindelo, on Sao Vincente, has 45,000 and is the second largest metropolitan area. While nearly half of Cape Verdeans live on the island of Santiago, Santa Antao, Sao Vincente, and Fogo hold the balance.

Conversely, since the islands have few natural resources, Cape Verdeans have emigrated to survive. There are massive Cape Verdean

communities in the United States (mostly in New England), Senegal, The Netherlands, Portugal, Argentina, Brazil, Guinea-Bissau, and Angola (Finan: 1985).

Although the official language of Cape Verde is Portuguese, and enormous number of its citizens speak Crioulo, a mixture of Portuguese and African languages. The predominant religion is Roman Catholicism, but the Church of the Nazarene and the Seventh Day Adventists are also represented (Meintel: 1984) (U.S. Department of State: 1986).

The Economic Structure of the Islands

GOVERNMENT

The government of Cape Verde was under Portuguese colonial rule for centuries. This regime fell under the 'donatario' system in the 1970's, which had absolute authority to govern the lieges. The donatario system was a mixture of feudal and capitalistic components which the Portuguese had developed in Madeira and the Azores, although less successful in Cape Verde (Duncan: 1972).

The present governmental structure has three branches: the legislative, executive, and judicial. The executive branch is headed by the President who is the head of state, the Prime Minister who is head of government and nine ministers. The National Assembly comprises the legislative branch. Its 56 members elect and/or select the executive branch. The judicial branch is also known as the National Council of Justice, which consists of

three justices n med by the executive branch and six assessors elected by the people; however, there are conditional by-laws for extenuating circumstances (Easum: 1990).

Government organization is based on a constitution approved in 1980 and declared in 1981. The constitution promulgates that the PAICV is the "supreme expression of the interests of the popular masses" and denotes the National Assembly as the supreme organ of state (Davidson: 1989) (U.S. Department of Commerce: 1990).

Cape Verdean government is basically a socialist regime. The movement of the country has been toward nationalization in both the industrial and agricultural arenas. However, there is still a considerable amount of free industry and private enterprise. As far as foreign affairs are concerned Cape Verde is non-aligned with any world super powers, but maintains close association with former Portuguese colonies in West Africa (U.S. Department of Commerce: 1990). However, it was once stated that "The Americans feed our bellies, and the Russians feed our minds" (Finan: 1985).

ECONOMY

The basis of the Cape Verdean domestic economy has been and continues to be mainly agricultural. Prior to the most recent twelve year drought period, local production was able to meet seventy percent of the local need. However, the more recent statistics show that they only supply five percent of that need. These effects can be seen in livestock production, fish production,

and several other areas in the Cape Verdean agricultural yielding charts (World Bank: 1985).

The economy of Cape Verde is dominated by adverse geo-economic factors, such as: a limited domestic market, in terms of both size and purchasing power; a wide geographic dispersion of islands which leads to increased transportation costs, communication problems, and reduced possibilities for economies of scale, a weak agricultural base, hampered by exceptionally adverse climate, terrain and soil conditions, a limited supply of natural resources, and an extreme dependence on external aid and emigrant remittances. However, the positive features for economic development include the country's geographic position, maritime resources, non-mineral resources, and human potential. Taken together, these ingredients constitute the premise of the First National Development Plan of Cape Verde (Meintel: 1984) (World Bank: 1985).

Cape Verde's Second National Development Plan (1986-1990) targets improvement in the national infrastructure, employment creation, and human resource development. This proposal places an enormous priority in the investment for productive sectors of agriculture, fishing, industry, and tourism, which combined will receive 34 percent of public investments for the next five years. Moreover, the industrial sector will emphasize agricultural and food industry initiatives based on resources and other industries geared toward export markets (U.S. Department of Commerce: 1990).

Looking from a fiscal perspective, 25.6 percent of the Cape Verdean income in 1986 came from international donations and 28.8

percent from remittances. Not only does this say that over half of the economy comes from outside assistance, but it carries more weight than it appears to. Many women in the Cape Verde islands appear to be single and/or estranged, when in fact they have exterior subsidies. While these women may carry the title of head of household, the major financial support may be coming from elsewhere (U.S. Department of Commerce: 1990).

FEMALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD

Households are seen neither as isolates nor as small units of social organization, but rather as the basic units of some larger system (Smith, Wallerstein, Evers: 1984). These households are the basis for familial relationships, as well as reproductive units of labor and/or power. Regardless of age, sex, nationality, ethnicity, or creed, each household is administered by some individual, the head of household. This term is more often than not, also in relation to the chief financial manager of the attrition and dispersion of funds within a dwelling. In Cape Verde, this position is increasingly being fulfilled by females (Finan, Henderson: 1988) (Belknap: ----).

The Cape Verdean population growth, intertwined with the reduced capability to produce subsistence crops, has forced inhabitants to seek relief in emigration. This strategy has been sanctioned by the governments acquiescence in the approbation of remittances (Palmer: 1985).

The Cape Verdean droughts caused by the Sahelian climate have

produced famine, which in turn have resulted in dissolution and emigration. Emigration, though not restricted to males, has propagated a series of gender-based problems in relation to the industrial labor market. Inescapably, such work patterns have been dominated by men, thus creating a shortage of males in the agriculture and sectors of the industrial environments (Roberts: 1978) (Palmer: 1985) (Finan, Henderson: 1988).

There are several characteristics which are indicative of female-headed households. Since these women tend to have less education in comparison to women of joint households, their children often become victims of the same plight. The lower the level of academia, the more indigent the household. The measure of socio-economic status must then be a corollary of access to, and possession of, subsistence agriculture, irrigated land, rainfed land, aggregate of livestock, and/or industrial or non-farm work (Roberts: 1978) (Peil: 1979) (Massiah: 1983) (Charlton: 1984) (Isiugo-Abinihe: 1985) (Dennis: 1988) (Finan, Henderson: 1988).

Women who have children and serve as heads of household are called 'solteiras'. These solteiras account for 38 percent of the heads of household. This role has become recognized throughout the country. These women are generally the poorest in their communities; many are poorly housed, poorly fed, and poorly clothed. When observing governmental funding through remittances, the economic impacts of emigration can be destructive, the most severe effects are demonstrated in the lives of the solteiras (Meintel: 1984) (Quinto: 1984) (Quinto: 1990).

While solteiras are considered the "poorest of the poor" (Massiah: 1983), they have been able to secure an elevated standard of living, for themselves and their families. Examine the following statistics: 12.5 percent of these women have access to irrigated land and 15 percent to rainfed areas. With regard to cattle, female heads of household possess 25 percent of the cattle in the Cape Verde. Goats, cows, and hogs are the principal animals in this household type (Finan, Henderson: 1988).

The procurement of these commodities are undoubtedly an issue of inquest. Although there are many ways for women to gain access to resources, inheritance is primary and foremost. Upon procurement of a parcel of land, women utilize farming for survival. Realizing that they cannot meet the labor requirements alone, their offspring commence organization, maintenance, and performance of the various farming activities (Meintel: 1984).

EMIGRATION AND REMITTANCES

Emigration and remittances have served as a rationalization for Cape Verde's Malthusian-type complex, as well as serve as the cataracts that bind them in their quandary. For the past three hundred years, the people of the islands have had increased population growth with decreased capacity to provide for themselves, thus they have averted to the emigration strategy (Akbar: 1990). With the governmental installation, recognition, and sanction of emigration remittances, women on the homefront have been left to produce income for the survival and

establishment of national prosperity. "This division of labor has an important implication for the demands of women's labor: women are responsible for both their own crops and for time-consuming and essential tasks on the farm" (Dennis: 1988). This aspect is often disregarded in the analysis of labor practices. In addition to managing and securing produce from their farms, solteiras must raise their children, cook, clean, shop, sew, teach, train, and perform a host of other daily chores. They are in charge of the "reproduction" of the Cape Verdean society (Charlton: 1984).

Despite emigration and female autonomy, the population increases steadily. Moreover, this trend is despite famine and droughts. It seems that such a combination would result in inevitable catastrophe; unless countered by some effective change. Today's situation is paradoxical, while droughts result in increased emigration, emigration increases remittances.

Remittances play a tremendous role in the Cape Verdean economy (U.S. Department of Commerce: 1990). Emigration practices were instated by the government to prevent "appreciable damage to the economy to which the proceeds of emigrant labor make a very valuable contribution" (Carreira: 1982). Conversely, all remittances are not official governmental exercises. Many are clandestine or come in the form of gratuities sent back to an emigrant's native community. Over half of all remittances follow this clandestine outline (Carreira: 1982).

Inspection of the frequency and dependability of remittances has not been probed thoroughly, thus it is futile to attempt to

expound on this timetable. However, it is important to note that not all emigrants send remittances home. Remittances are rarely sent during the first two years following departure, due to the need to compensate whomever assisted in the financing of the emigrants travel. Albeit that many emigrants steadfastly forward remittances, "35 percent of all fathers, sons or husbands who have been emigrated for one and a half years or more sent no remittances to their respective children, parents or wives" (Quinto: 1984).

A major debate concerns the value of remittances. Many recipients feel that they receive decreased monetary value once the remittance is converted to escudos--the Cape Verdean unit of currency (World Almanac: 1989). The desire and intent to buy food, purchase animals, procure land, reconstruct a place of residence, acquire clothes, gain ownership to rental property, obtain transportation, secure dishes, and even accumulate savings are the most prevalent functions of remittances (Quinto: 1984) (Palmer: 1985).

Canvassing the likelihood of continued emigration, the status of solteiras is at the forefront of Cape Verdean studies. Within the society, female heads of household are a crucial institutional element. Their predicament does not entreat an abolition of emigration, but instead the resolution of questions pertaining to economic scarcity and substandard agriculture. The social and economic response to female headed households is a component in an

integral exegesis of technological, international, and socio-political intermediaries of the affluent, cosmopolitan, and rural classes of people (Lobban, Halter: 1988).

The Agricultural Development of the Islands

A COMPREHENSIVE AGRICULTURAL PERSPECTIVE

In an economy of emigrant remittances and international eleemosynarism, the global economy is a distant concern. Therefore, a design for national development accentuates "food sufficiency and economic diversification" (Finan: 1988).

Outside suggestions and recommendations are frequent, with regard to Cape Verdean agriculture. The United States, as well as Europe are working in conjunction with the National Agrarian Research Institute (INIA), and numerous investigators have begun to analyze the horticulture of this region. The outcome is a host of solutions to the scenario. A major policy has stood out in the forefront of development: the 1982 Land Reform Law (Finan: 1988) (Sacks: 1988) (U.S. AID: ----).

CAPE VERDEAN LAND REFORM

In observing the misuse of agriculture by the Portuguese royalty, it is evident labor was provided through slavery and sharecropping. This created a non-aggregate dissemination of land. The 1982 Land Reform Law has sought to correct this mistake.

Under the Reform, sharecropping and absentee land ownership has been disbanded. Land formerly used for these purposes were expropriated, eradicating the class of propertied holders. Those without land were able to gain the titles to it. Despite its prosperous outlook the Land Reform movement is encountering a bitter resistance--formulating a consistent implementation of the legislation (World Bank: 1985).

Foregoing the revision, there had been little inquiry into access to land in Cape Verde. It is now public erudition, that the need for public land is concentrated. Those who have access to land fear that governmental regulation will jeopardize present practices. The Land Reform has clearly expressed its thrust for improvement. While the Reform is intended to ameliorate subsistence, this is being met with resistance by those who are supposed to profit from it, due to fear of attenuation of already acquired property.

THE FOOD CROPS RESEARCH PROJECT

The emphasis of the Food Crops Research Project is to demonstrate that the rural population of Santiago, the principal agricultural island of Cape Verde, is not homogenous (Finan: 1984). There is variation among farm families, with regard to critical production resources, thus creating differing productivity aims. These aims vary from the amount of productivity desired, to the type of produce proliferated. Among these rural households

various groups can be identified. The Research project aims at increasing the effectiveness of assistance programs diversification.

The grouping is selected from each community, arid, sub-humid, and humid. Utilizing supplementary data, a number of communities are selected due to ecological zone, and total island population. In each community, the farmers are divided. Some use rainfed land; some use irrigable land; and some use mixed land.

The survey used in the interviews contained almost 200 variables covering demography, household dynamics, agricultural resource use, off-farm income, current technologies, and the role of public assistance in rural areas. The data gathered serves to provide a cornerstone for accessing the heterogenous structure of Santiago and for identification of those mechanisms that farm families embrace to insure their survivability and augment their incomes. The Food Crops Research Project also addresses the implications of food self-sufficiency, emigration alternatives, and the improvement of rural living standards. The data headquarters is maintained at the University of Arizona where Cape Verdean students assist in the research process (Finan: 1988).

The results of the survey tend to give way to several possible techniques for improvement in productivity. The following suggestions are general in scope, but are only an extrapolation of a larger resolve. To improve the current yields in rainfed agriculture, the investigating team suggests the introduction of new, drought-resistant seed varieties of corn and beans; improving

existing soil management practices; increasing soil moisture; greater control of grasshopper and other damaging insects and diseases; research into the roles of small farm animals; and the introduction of new cultigens like pigeon pea, a small crop which increases soil retention. In irrigated agriculture, the occasion to increase crops are contingent upon increasing water availability; seed variety and fertilizer trails; planting in various non erosive patterns; more pest control; the introduction of new irrigated cultigens; and marketing of irrigated crops (Finan: 1984) (Fox, Menke, Finan, Pearson: 1986) (Finan, Langworthy: 1988) (Fox, et al: ----).

The Educational and Health System of the Islands

EDUCATION

Since 1962, Cape Verde has had mandatory primary education. Intellectual, technological, and scholastic trends have often followed those of Portugal. The country's education system consists of various tiers. A semiautonomous kindergarten network exists for children 4-6. Elementary education is dispersed into two cycles for children 7-9 and the 11-12. Secondary education is available in one of two high school located in Praia and Mindelo or in other community centered programs (Sand: 1980) (U.S. Department of State: 1986) (Easum: 1990).

There is a serious shortage of qualified teachers in the Cape Verde. Although there are 1500 teachers, only 65 percent of them

are properly trained. Some hold only a primary education. As a result, teaching efforts are impeded by the enormous class sizes and obligations of teaching several shifts (Sand: 1980) (U.S. Department of State: 1986).

Notwithstanding, the present educational structure guarantees four years of primary school followed by two years of preparatory education, while the number of secondary schools creates competition for attrition and retention. There is no university, although there is a teachers college. Those endeavoring for higher education must pursue it in another nation, generally Portugal, the United States or Europe. Approximately 300 Cape Verdean students travel overseas to fulfill their collegiate ambitions each year (Sand: 1980) (U.S. Department of State: 1986).

As in many underdeveloped countries, students who attain higher education are reluctant to return to their native country which customarily offer unemployment or underemployment. Their failure to return breeds a loss of valuable trained personnel. In Cape Verde, this loss is greatly felt in the technical fields. This has prompted the government to offer incentives for their comeback. Most students who travel abroad for undergraduate and/or further study are on scholarships and other forms of financial aid. Portentously, due to the inadequacies of the primary and secondary programs in the islands many of these scholarships go unused (Sand: 1980).

Before independence in 1975, Cape Verdean schools functioned as political sites in which class, gender, and racial inequities

were taught and replicated (Meintel: 1984). Therefore, the educational structure inculcated the Cape Verdean natives with delusions, myths, and fables which ridiculed their history, experiences, culture, and their language. The schools were viewed as the genesis of purification, from which citizens could escape their ignorance, savage culture, and their "bastardized" language (Macedo: 1983), which is defined as a degenerate form of Portuguese without the use or applicability of grammar rules.

LITERACY

The adult literacy rate in Cape Verde is about 40 percent. Because of this low level, the government has allocated new basic educational standards. School overcrowding and low levels of instruction continue to plague these efforts, although significant advancements have been made (Sand: 1980).

Within the last decade literacy has taken a new meaning among educators. The debate, however, has tended to recycle old assumptions regarding the usefulness of literacy. The notion that literacy is simply a matter of learning is still maintained by many individuals. The vast majority of literacy programs manifest the renewed logic of emphasis on technical reading and writing skills (Dash: 1981) (Easum: 1990).

The literacy program in Cape Verde is an ideological practice of cultural production and reproduction. Many people argue that the spoken language (Crioulo) must be utilized in these programs, if true emancipation from ignorance is the objective.

Nevertheless, Portuguese rather than Cape Verdean has been utilized, which has led to the duplication of the colonialist, elitist mentality (Dash: 1981) (Macedo: 1983).

Furthermore, the literacy system has a second and more devastating effect. After the academic community has successfully deculturated the Cape Verdean natives, they acculturate them to the values of what a civilized and upstanding denizen should be. The measure of this development is based on Western rationality and folkways (Charlton: 1984). Schools then become the mold of a doctrinal apparatus which is contrived to secure the dominant interests of the governmental labor force. This "educated" labor force in the islands compose the functionary and subordinate occupations that serve to promote and maintain the status quo (Dash: 1981) (Easum: 1990).

An investigation of the governmental heads will demonstrate that a vast majority have been students or better yet, victims of this school of thought. However, under the present reconstruction of the country, schools are attempting to "decolonize the minds of the students," in the words of President Pereira. He has also called for the "re-Africanization of the Cape Verdean mentality." For two or more centuries, the Cape Verdeans have measured self-worth and cultural pluralism by how much they were like the controlling colonialists (Akbar: 1990). It is now clear that there is a need to initiate a new school system organized in a manner whereby Cape Verdeans can correct their culture, their history, and their language.

HEALTH

In comparison to other underdeveloped countries of Africa, Cape Verde suffers sporadic chronic health problems (Sand: 1980). The greatest concern in the health sector is the high infant mortality rate, which at 10 percent is considerably lower than other countries of their status. The average life expectancy is fifty years of age (World Almanac: 1989).

Cape Verde is largely free of tropical diseases. This is largely the result of the malaria campaign of the 1950's. Most health problems are directly related to the drought, when there is universal malnutrition and detrimental environmental conditions. There is no city sewage system; while only the most expensive homes in the city have septic tanks. During drought conditions, flies and cockroaches flourish and are vexatious (U.S. Department of State: 1986).

The diet of most rural Cape Verdeans consists of corn and its by-products. Cape Verdeans tend to lose their teeth in the late teenage years and contract a mutant form of epilepsy, both results of the corn diet. Respiratory problems are also abundant due to the climate and agricultural work. The conjunction of dust and diet also tend to create gastro-intestinal problems, particularly in the youth. These abdomen problems are also repercussions of poor sanitation, contaminated water, shortage of cooking fuel,

parasitic problems from inadequate footwear, unsanitary defecation habits, and improper food preparation (Sand: 1980) (U.S. Department of State: 1986) (Easum: 1990) (Quinto: 1990).

An incorporation of the multifarious health problems with the lack of adequate medical facilities and properly trained medical personnel, tend to describe the health-care conditions of Cape Verde. The current ratio is one doctor per 20,000 persons. However, these doctors are in urban areas, there are many islands with no doctors at all. Such is also the plight of nurses. Taking into account the expense and the unreliability of inter-island travel, for all practical purposes, medical aide is unavailable to the rural citizens of the islands. There are only two functioning hospitals where major surgery can be done, one in Praia and one in Mindelo (Sand: 1980).

CONCLUSION

It is imperative that notice is given to the Cape Verdean crisis. The status is that of a neophyte country striving to construct their newly established republic. Little did they realize that before implementing new and innovative policies and programs, they would have to correct the problems with agriculture, emigration, land reformation, education, health-care, and literacy.

Cape Verde's history is rich in drama--uninhabited islands soon propagated by slavery. The custom of servitude and colonial oppression are still present in the Cape Verdean logic. The stratification of societal members is regulated by possessions

and/or access to them. Social status is measured in land, cattle, one's proficiency of the Portuguese language, and other attributes.

A major question among researchers and government officials is 'What can be done to protect our agriculture?' The response must include a revised and advanced horticulture system, as well as increase availability to water in the rural regions of the islands. It must also take into account the climate in which Cape Verdeans dwell. Therefore, the resolution to this question will indirectly impact emigration.

To reduce emigration, the people of Cape Verde will need to continue in there receipt of monetary aid from global enterprises. They must also continue to participate in programs such as the University of Arizona Food Crops Research Project and others; this will enable them to grow sufficient food to supply their population or earn the foreign exchange to purchase food. Taking into account the population growth, the attainment of either is essential.

Social scientist must also analyze the household conditions and the roles that various individuals perform therein. The need to farm and sustain a place of residence has made large families (or numbers of children) and economic shelter. This is the primary basis of increased population growth; however, until population growth and accessibility to foodstuffs are comparable and balanced, the state of economic urgency will still be at hand. This predicament indirectly effects literacy. The need of children to tend to the family land has outweighed the societal need for adequate academic training.

Consequently, the people of Cape Verde, who have acquired some scholasticism, have been undersold and literacy has been only functional literacy in Portuguese rather that the native tongue which is crucial to Cape Verdean educational culture and history. Although the need to operate in society is important, the only literacy approach that will be commensurate to the construction of a new and improved Cape Verdean society is one based in the dynamics of a new cultural pedagogy. This institution must prepare Cape Verdeans to relate to not just "upper class" citizens, but people from all walks of life. This education should enhance their ability to regulate a lifestyle that will assure them prosperity and health.

Moreover, in the health sphere, even if medical facilities were adequate and readily available, many of the islands health problems would not be resolved. Solutions depend primarily on improved diet to meet nutritional needs, availability of clean water supply, sufficient cooking fuel and ongoing education with regard to positive health and hygiene. Increased awareness of infirmities caused by food and its preparation should decrease maladies in the region.

The Cape Verdean status quo is a direct result of the climate and environment. There is no demand for rationalization and/or justification. The crisis must be addressed from the technological, geographical, social, political, international, educational, meteorological, economical, and medical perspective.

A holistic approach is the only paradigm that will begin to eradicate the condition of environmental and social degradation to which the islands and people of Cape Verde have fallen prey.

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